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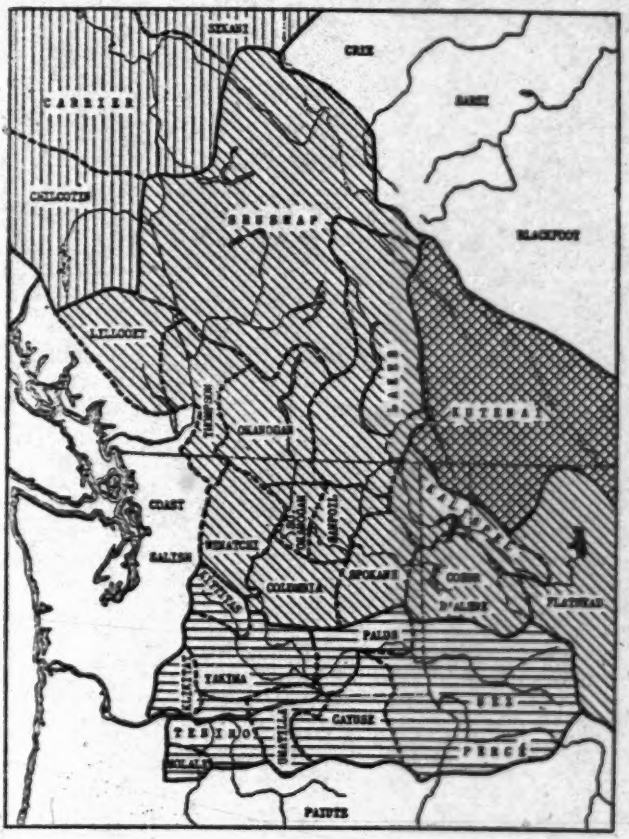

MAP 1. Linguistic stocks in the Plateau. *Horizontal hatching:* Sahaptin; *diagonal hatching:* Salish; *vertical hatching:* Athabascan; *cross hatching:* Kutenai.

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On the maps throughout this paper the solid lines indicate linguistic stock boundaries; the broken lines separate ethnic or tribal groups. A few groups, for which little or no information is available, are omitted. Thus in the northern part of the territory assigned to the Wenatchi are found the Chelan and Methow; in the eastern lobe of the territory including the Sanpoil are the Colville; to the east of the Yakima are the Wayampam; southwest of the Palus are the Walula. The specific locations of these groups may be found in Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, p. 85; Ray, *Village Locations*, maps; Ray and Others, *Tribal Distribution*, p. 386. In indicating distributions on the maps it has been assumed that the Chelan and Methow agree in culture with the Wenatchi, the Colville with the Sanpoil. We know this to be justified in general, but small corrections may be necessary in the future. The name Sanpoil is

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Plateau culture could hardly be more grossly misinterpreted. Proof of this is contained throughout the following pages. Spinden was led astray in two ways: first, he interpreted the heavy Plains overlay that he found among the Nez Percé as typical of the Plateau; secondly, he found few autochthonous ideas because he was doing pioneer work and his brief investigation failed to bring them to light.

The individuality of Plateau culture was first emphasized by Spier in his illuminating survey based upon Klamath customs.[2] Spier's task was specifically that of placing the Klamath in proper cultural setting; at the same time the Plateau was given its first general orientation. The data available to him were insufficient, however, to determine intra-areal relations. But in recent years the Plateau has been receiving a greater share of attention, with the result that no large portion remains entirely unknown.

An attempt is here made to describe the conditions under which the cultural diversity of the Plateau has developed; further, to picture the conceptual structures of various significant complexes in Plateau culture. Several fundamental complexes from the Plateau stock are examined, but no attempt is made to exhaust that stock. Social life receives a considerably greater share of attention than material culture. The former has proved more satisfactory for comparative study, partly because of the nature of the complexes, and partly in consequence of the quality of the available data. And possibly a bias of the author is reflected.

For the most part the structures examined are those within the Plateau since the objective is a picture of intra-areal relationships. But not infrequently the paths followed lead into adjacent areas, and sometimes into the problems of those areas.

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used throughout to designate both Sanpoil and Nespelem; the cultures are identical (Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*).

The Sahaptin-Shoshonean boundary represents conditions prior to 1800. During the nineteenth century this boundary was situated somewhat farther south. This movement is discussed by Ray and Others, *Tribal Distribution*.

[2] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 224–325.

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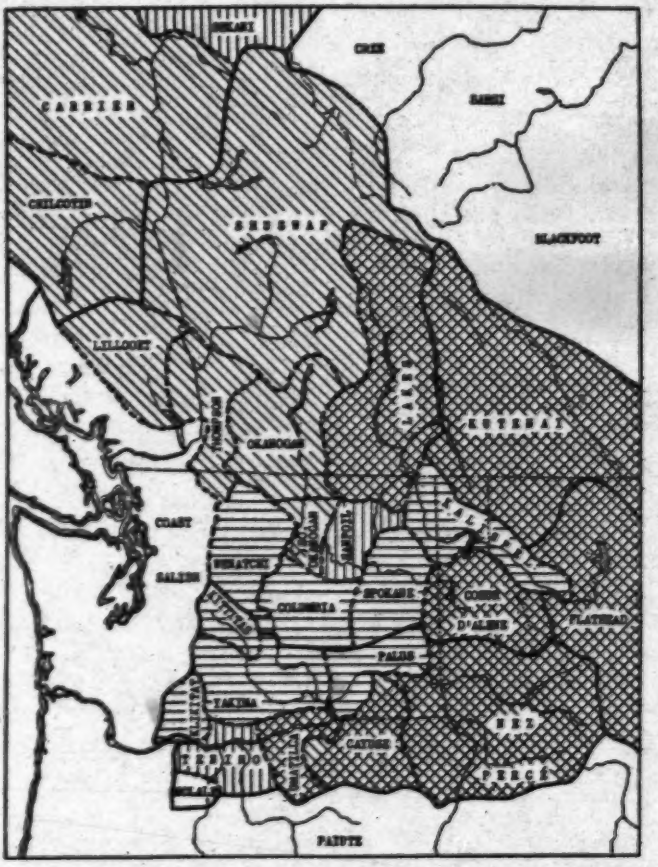
village groups often came together to make up a war-party, but there is little evidence of close relationship in village groups in time of peace.

It would be more accurate to say that several villages were united to



MAP 2. Types of political organization. *Vertical hatching:* strict local autonomy; *diagonal hatching:* small bands of villages; *horizontal hatching:* local autonomy with slight tribal tendency; *cross hatching:* tribal organization.

form the tribe, rather than that the tribe was divided. Indeed, mere common action in war is hardly a basis for postulating tribal unity, but Spinden adds:

The council consisted of the chiefs and the old men. There was a village

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The office is received either through inheritance or by selection on the basis of achievement everywhere in the Plateau. The principle of heredity may be rigidly applied or may be scarcely more than a nominal pattern modifiable at will. Selection, on the basis of achievement, may

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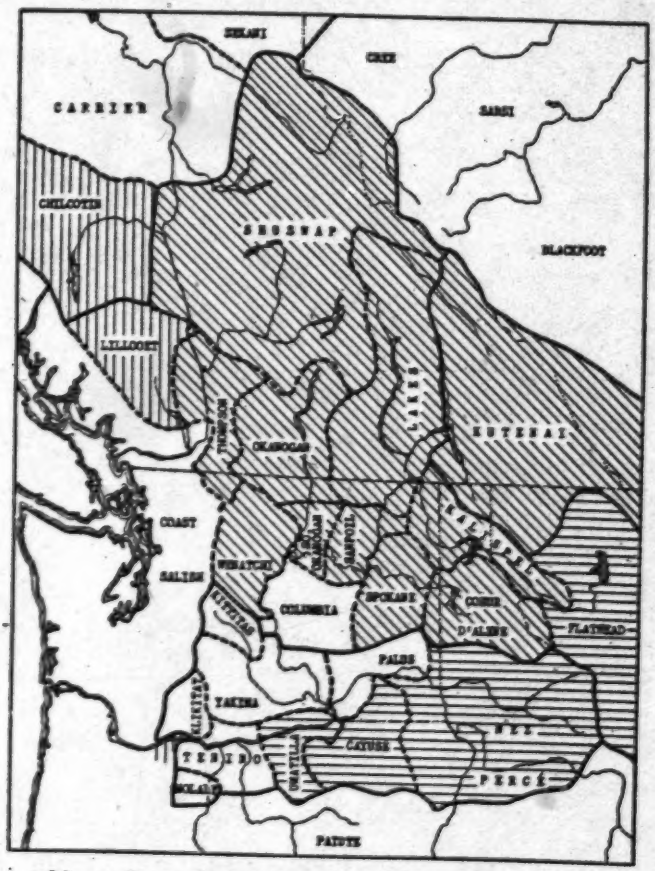

MAP 3. Bases of chieftainship. *Vertical hatching:* strict heredity; *diagonal hatching:* loose heredity; *horizontal hatching:* selection on basis of achievement.

622 be according to very formal rules or merely by consensus of opinion. The variations found, however, are not random nor lacking in order. Three patterns emerge with considerable contrast. The first is strict inheritance; this is found only among the Chilcotin, Lillooet, and Wish-

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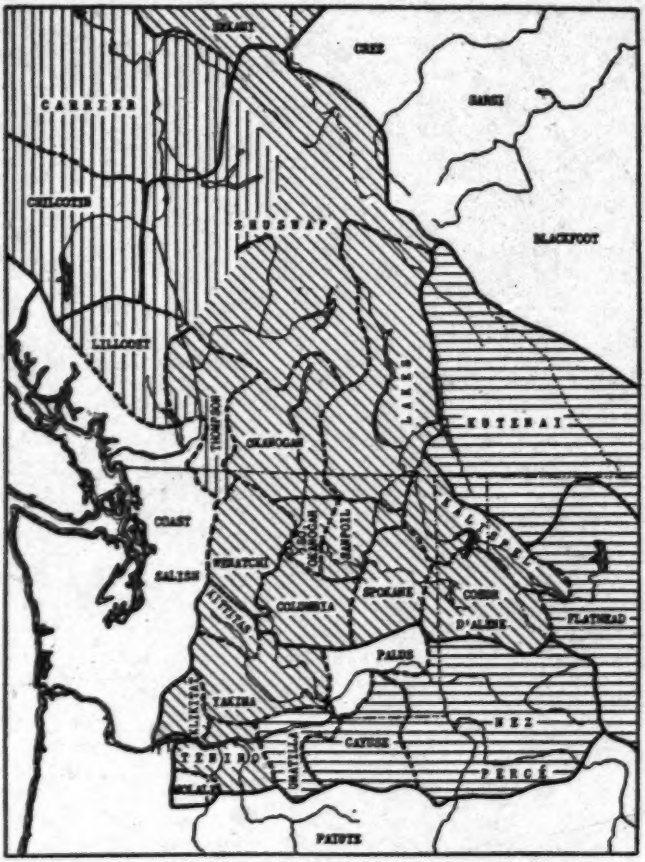
class distinctions are unthinkable, to say nothing of slavery. The latter is looked upon as an unaccountable custom of foreigners. Every adult citizen—man or woman—is a member of the general assembly of his village. When it becomes necessary to select a chief from a new



MAP 4. Class and rank. *Vertical hatching:* modified coastal pattern; *diagonal hatching:* no stratification; *horizontal hatching:* ranking according to war honors.

lineage, any man is eligible. The selection is made without regard to any quality suggestive of class. The chief is in no way set apart socially; he is as approachable as any man in the group. Nor does wealth carry any suggestion of advance in status. Indeed, wealth is rare. Only sha-

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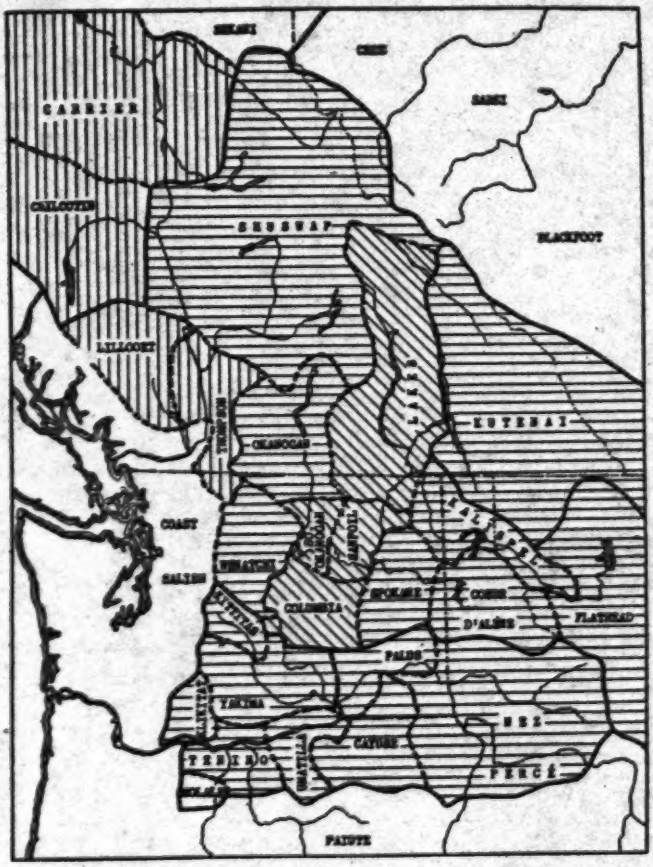
a few are procured in trade. They are well treated and their children are seldom reminded of their parentage.

Slaves are somewhat more common among the Coeur d'Alêne. Teit records that some are purchased from other tribes but my infor-



MAP 5. Slavery. *Vertical hatching:* slaves numerous; *horizontal hatching:* slaves scarce; *diagonal hatching:* slavery absent.

mants denied this. However, if any are of Paiute origin, as Teit suggests, they are certainly purchased. Here, too,

> slaves were kindly treated, and most people regarded them as affectionately as their own wives or children. When a slave boy died his owner has been

764 is available, horses are tethered on top of the fresh grave to eradicate all indications of the burial. Grave markers naturally are not used by them. In other parts of the southern Plateau, erect sticks or simple posts are used to indicate the location. The Umatilla do not follow this prac-

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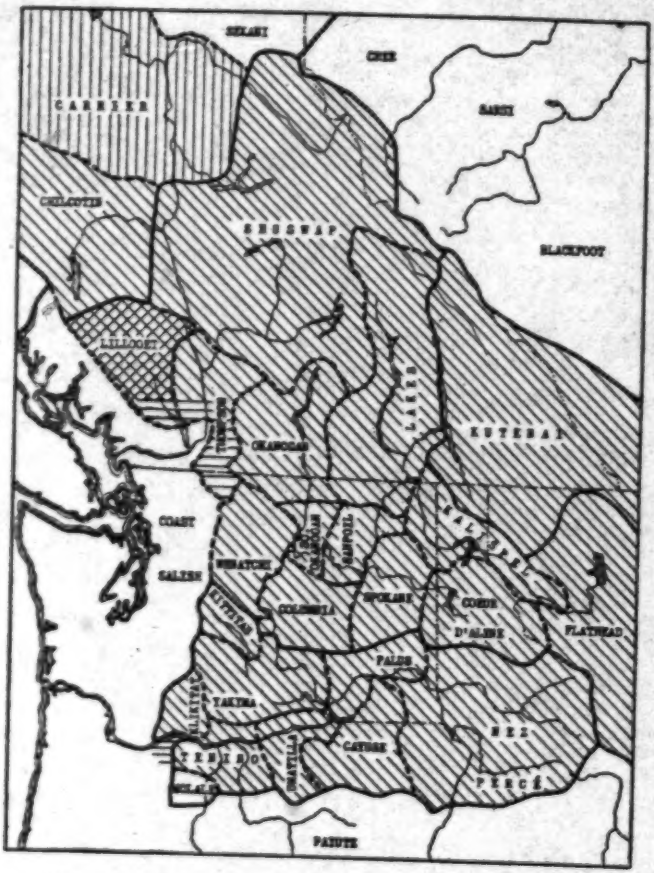
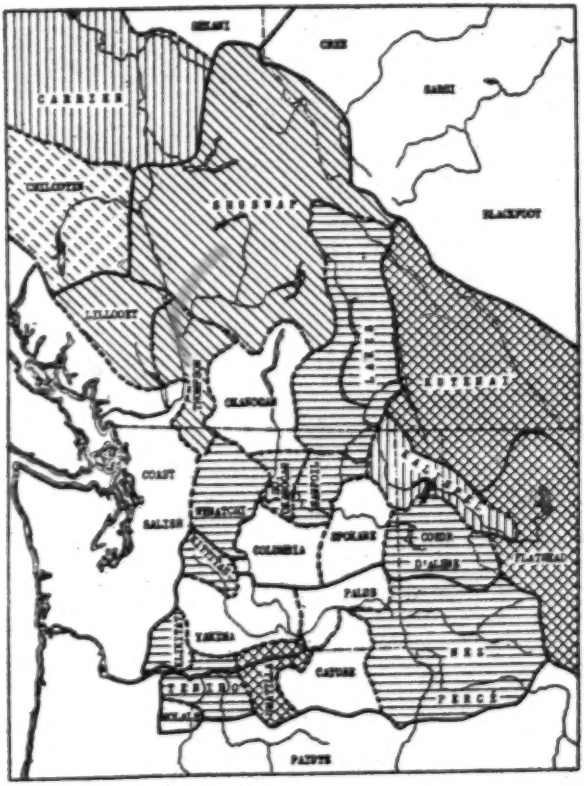


MAP 6. Disposal of the dead: dominant forms. *Vertical hatching:* cremation; *cross hatching:* basket burial and inhumation; *horizontal hatching:* box or house burial; *diagonal hatching:* inhumation.

764 tice but use a large rock instead. The Kutenai place a pole on the ground on each side of the mound left after filling the grave. In other parts of the Canadian Plateau more elaborate grave markers are used.

Over most graves [of the Upper Thompson] were erected conical huts

sweat house in an isolated spot in the mountains, sweating, massaging with conifer twigs, attempted trips to the land of the dead, mock shamanistic treatment, and the use of a human skull as a cup. Upon brief visits to the village the boy visits his shaman proctor and demonstrates



MAP 7. Period of the guardian spirit quest. *Horizontal hatching:* pre-puberty; *diagonal hatching:* puberty especially, also post-puberty; *cross hatching:* any age, pre-puberty especially; *vertical hatching:* any age, puberty especially; *broken hatching:* middle age.

his abilities. The proctor may send him back or declare that he has achieved his goal. Among the Thompson, Okanogan, and Shuswap the training is much less extreme in form and duration. The training period

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the two are not soon reunited. The soul is conceived as being located somewhere within the body; the Sanpoil localize it near the heart but it is not identified with that organ; the Canadian Salish believe it to be situated in the head.

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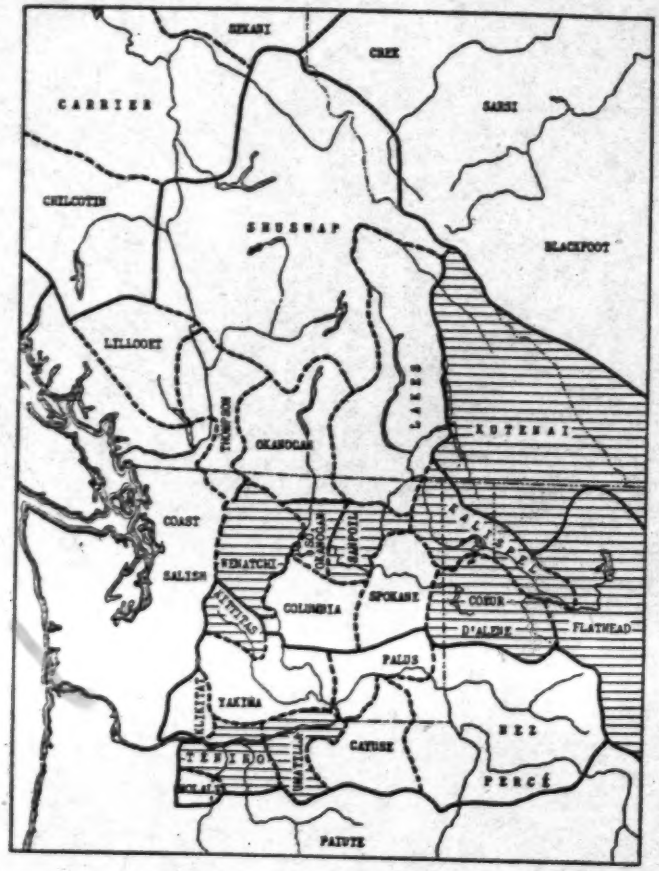

MAP 8. The spirit-ghost concept.

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Now upon death the soul and body are separated. The body disintegrates, ceases to exist; but the soul becomes transformed into the ghost (unless it immediately goes to the land of the dead) and continues to exist. Its form may be pseudo-anthropomorphic or, at the other extreme, flame-like or bone-like.

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kind is unknown in the Plateau. But frequently a man instructs one of his spirits to appear to his son or presents the boy with a symbol which will aid in obtaining a specific spirit. This is not merely a vague reflection of the coastal pattern of heredity, for in the latter case, at least,

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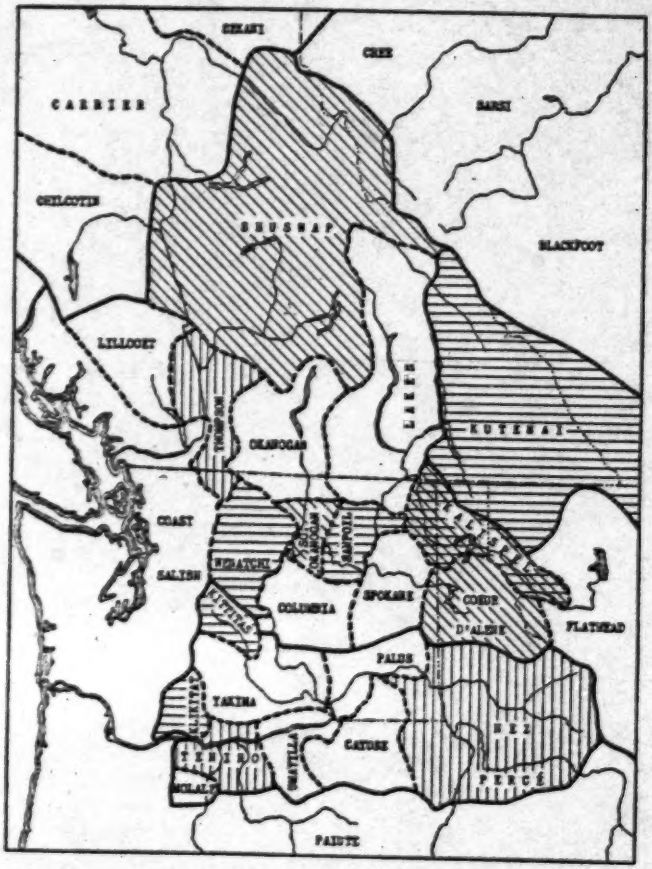

MAP 9. Inheritance of guardian spirits. *Vertical hatching:* true inheritance; *horizontal hatching:* upon instruction only; *diagonal hatching:* transference by use of symbol.

the father often selects a symbol unrepresentative of any of his own spirits. Furthermore, an unrelated person, an elderly shaman or merely a proctor, may send out his spirit to be found or may provide the symbol. The pattern of so instructing one's own spirit typifies the south

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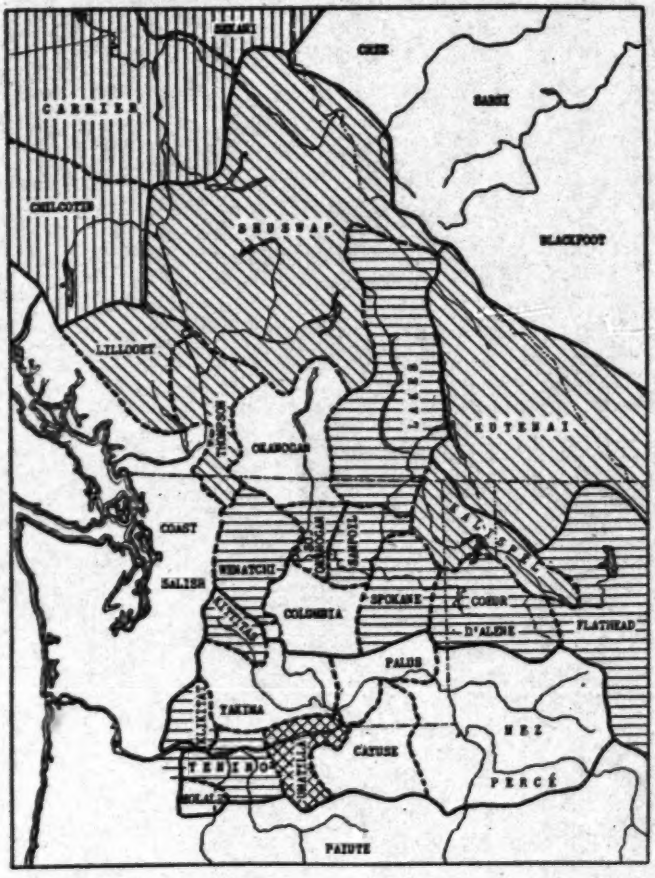
here is rather more historical than psychological, the classification of the native will be used regardless of other factors. Spier and Park have tackled this problem for regions to the south.[44] The data here will merely provide a northern extension. Among the Umatilla, not far



MAP 10. Types of quest experience. *Horizontal hatching:* vision only; *diagonal hatching:* vision, induced dream; *vertical hatching:* voluntary dream; *cross hatching:* vision, dream (involuntary?).

north of the Klamath, the pattern of the latter is maintained. That is, both the vision and dream are present. It is not certain that the particular phrasing is that of the Klamath, a quest followed by a dream

[44] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 250 ff.; Park, *Shamanism*, pp. 108 ff.

562 of the area is clearly the result of participation by the various groups in
756 a common tradition. But from an inter-areal point of view historical inference is hazardous since the possibilities are so limited. The intermediacy may be the result of the blending of the contrasting patterns of

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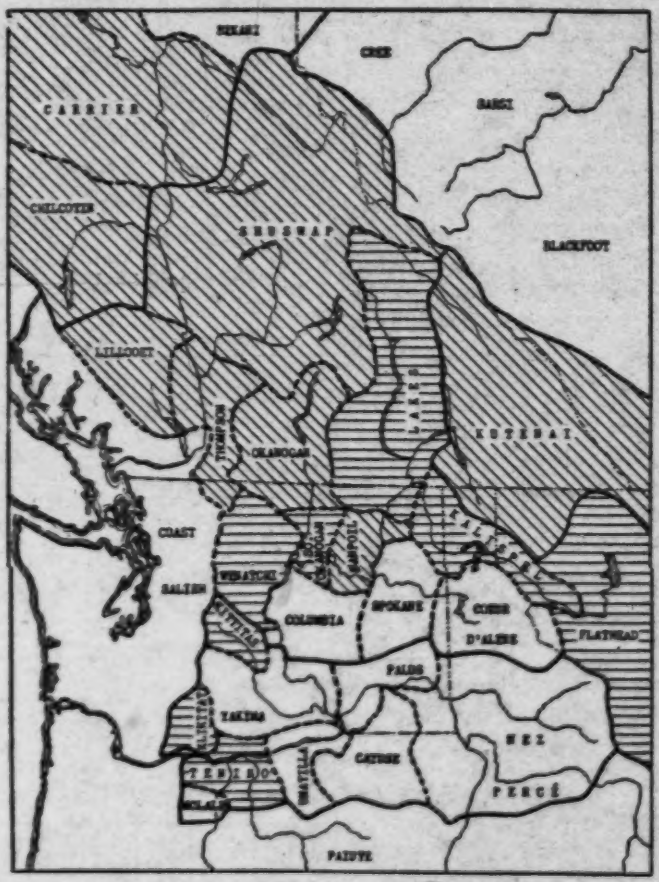

MAP 11. Shamanistic specialization of function. *Horizontal hatching:* special powers bestowed by spirit; *diagonal hatching:* specialization by reputation only.

562 Coast and Plains; or, it may represent an independent development. The
756 latter interpretation is favored by the fact that peripheral tribes of the Plateau do not lean toward the patterns of adjacent areas, but are one with the central tribes.

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753 guardian spirit that gains entrance. The latter case may be termed "intrusion of a foreign spirit" but it must be remembered that the spirit involved is invariably a guardian spirit; no spirits outside this category are given attention in the Plateau. Furthermore, the spirit is invariably

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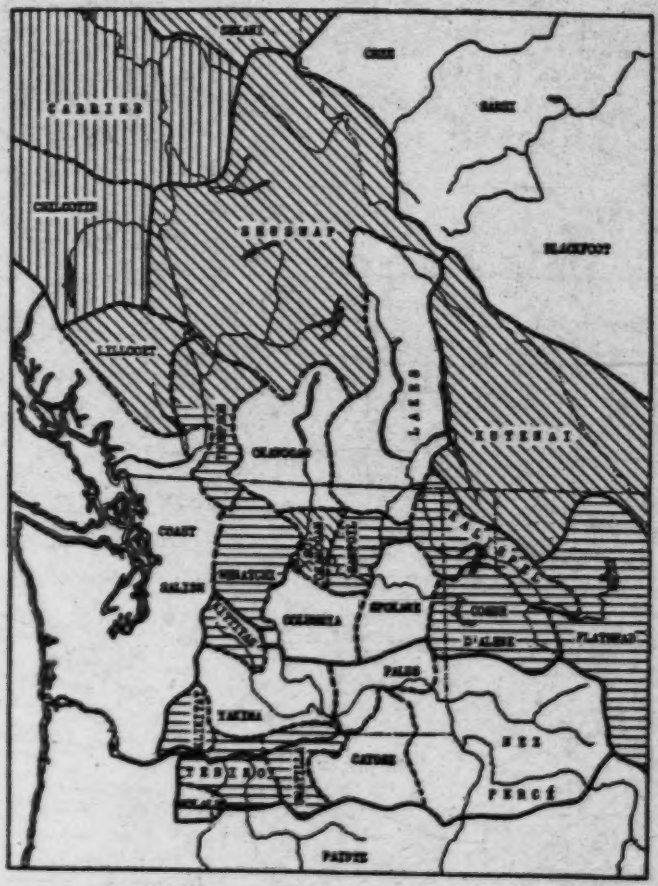

MAP 12. Disease by intrusion. *Vertical hatching:* intrusive object; *diagonal hatching:* spirit causes intrusion of object; *horizontal hatching:* intrusive object, intrusive spirit.

753 non-human in essence; it should not be confused with the human soul.

The *intrusive object* theory is widespread, encompassing the whole of the Plateau, and, of course, a vastly wider area. The more limited distribution of the *intrusive spirit* theory gives it greater significance for

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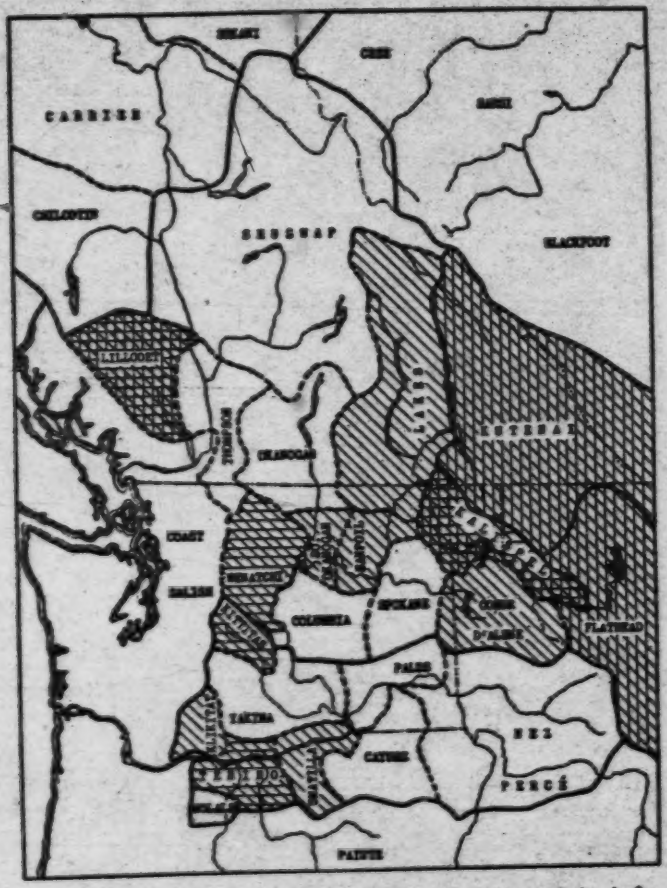
the time of acquisition until maturity, the return is marked by a physical disturbance varying from a feeling of lonesomeness to a severe illness (see above). Sometimes this illness recurs at the opening of each dance season for several winters. Wherever this occurs an obvious link with



MAP 13. Spirit loss illness. *Diagonal hatching:* shamanistic theft; *horizontal hatching:* desertion due to mistreatment; *vertical hatching:* loss by wandering away.

the Coast is indicated, since there spirits are absent except during the winter season and each annual return is accompanied by physical reactions. The Plateau distribution of personal guardian spirit illness is beautifully illustrative of upriver influence along the Columbia. It oc-

753 curs with the Wishram, Tenino, Klikitat, Umatilla, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Southern Okanogan, and Sanpoil.[41] The specific coastal pattern, illness each winter, does not extend as far upriver as might be anticipated. It is found among the Umatilla, Kittitas, Wenatchi, and probably Wishram.

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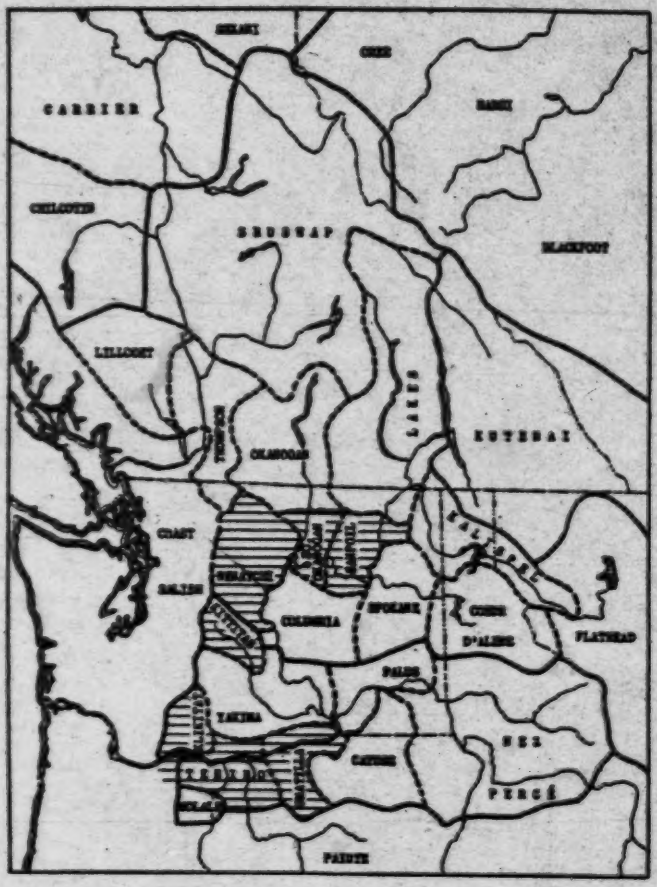

MAP 14. Illness due to spirit return.

753 There is no evidence of a similar diffusion up the Fraser Valley.

Soul loss is the remaining major disease concept of the Plateau. This is the belief that the animating human soul may become temporarily de-

[41] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 240; Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, p. 145.

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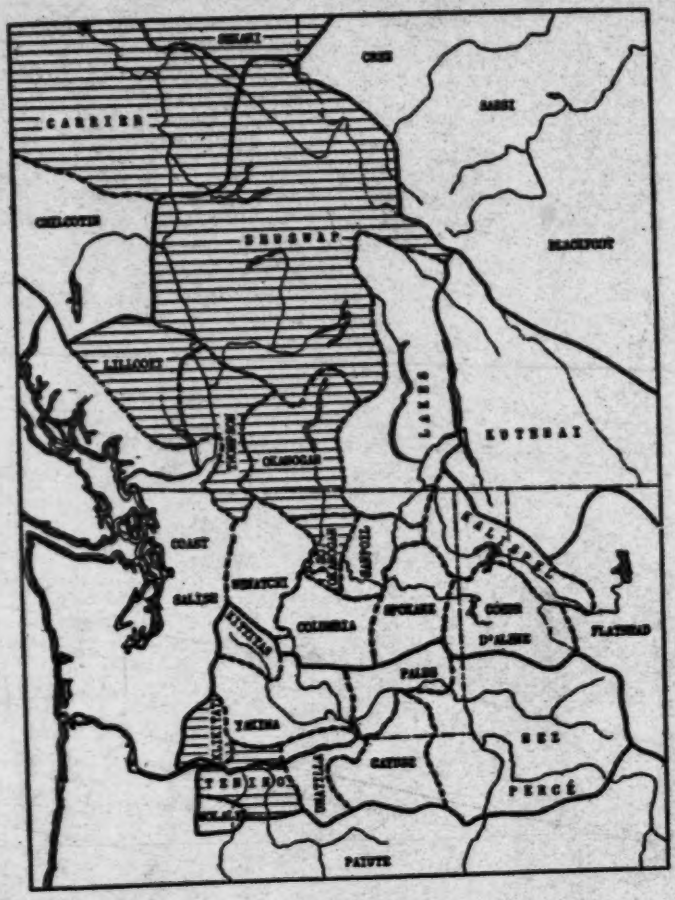
tached from the physical body without death occurring immediately. The accompanying illness is invariably serious—usually the most serious of any ailment—and death comes very soon if the soul is not recovered. Care should be taken not to confuse this concept with guardian



Map 15. Soul loss.

spirit loss, discussed above. The loose usage of the two terms, spirit and soul, often leads to such confusion, with serious theoretical consequences. Clements falls into this error in his paper on disease concepts.[22] He attributes soul loss to the entire Plateau, which is far from the truth.

[22] Clements, *Primitive Concepts*, pp. 190–201, 225–40.

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is near the northern limits of distribution and indicates that Canadian tribes have been quite unreceptive, since knowledge of the elaborations of their neighbors must certainly have penetrated to them. The apparent inferior development of the Spirit Dance among northern Sahaptin

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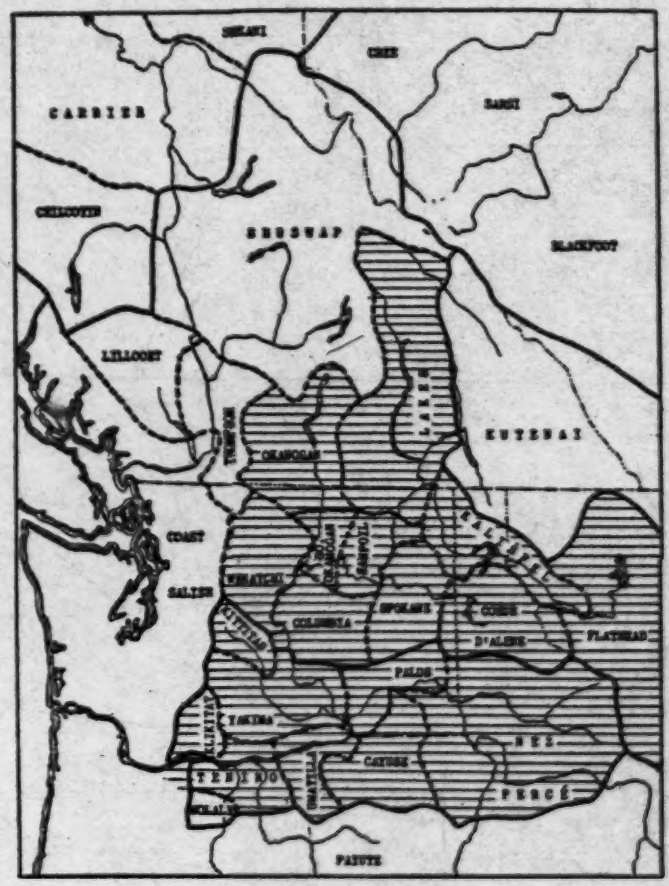

MAP 16. The Winter Guardian Spirit Dance.

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tribes may be due to the fragmentary nature of our information; caution must be exercised in drawing conclusions. It is quite possible that the dance was equally as well developed as among the Salish prior to destructive Plains influence.

It should be emphasized that the approach in Spier's pioneering dis-

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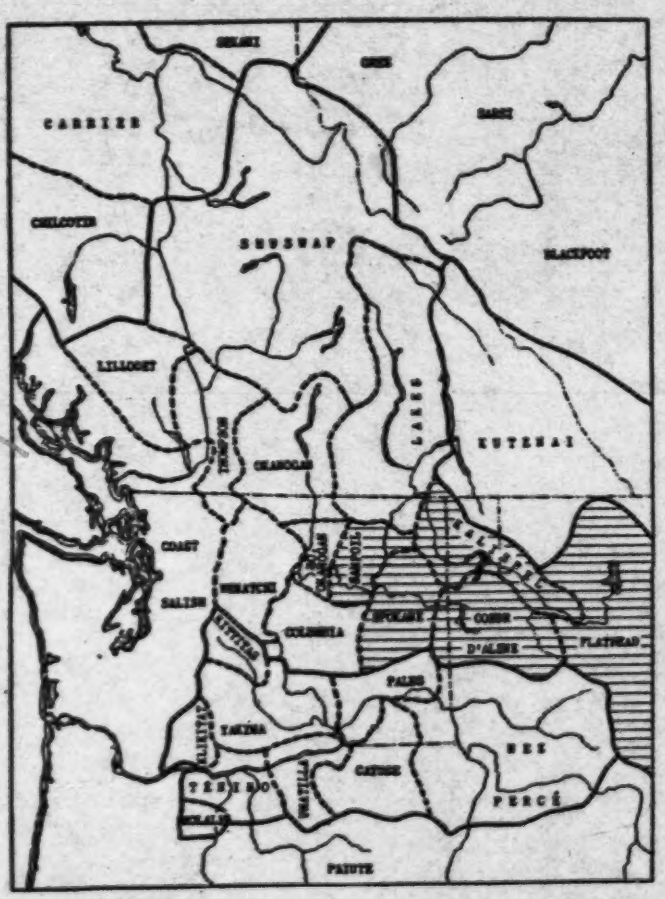
became the spirits." But in the new era the dominant form became that of the animal; the man-like form was taken only when in communion with men. Human beings appeared at the same time, inheriting as their form the prevalent form of the previous beings. But men did not receive the power to reciprocate with their spirits and appear in animal form. This was possible, in modification,



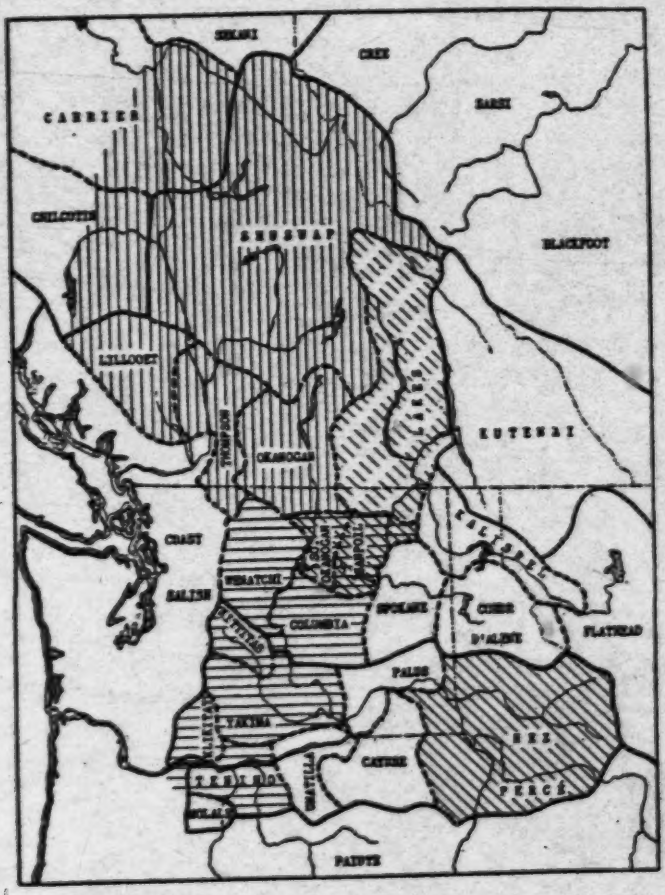
MAP 17. The Bluejay complex.

only in ceremonial identification. This identification was not an amalgamation or substitution, but a reversion to the conceptualized form of the mythological being.[86]

Such transformation is peculiarly the prerogative of persons with

[86] Ray, *Bluejay Character*, pp. 594 f.

are sometimes built over pits. Olson presents convincing arguments to the contrary in his study of the plank houses of the Northwest Coast.[4] Data from the Plateau, to the degree applicable, support Olson in his contention. (One exception is noted below.)



MAP 18. Earth lodges. *Vertical hatching:* circular, with rafters; *horizontal hatching:* circular, roof of radiating poles; *diagonal hatching:* circular, flat roof; *broken hatching:* circular, radiating poles with purlins.

But the present problem is that of a narrower area. The variations of the earth lodge within the Plateau are considerable. The pit may be either circular or square, the roof conical, pyramidal, or flat, and the

[4] Olson, *Adze, Canoe and House Types*, pp. 26–30.

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A structure with plan and section identical to the last is found far north among the Carrier. This might be dismissed as an independent variation upon the rectangular plan, were it not for another feature which likewise duplicates southern practice. The rounded end is sepa-

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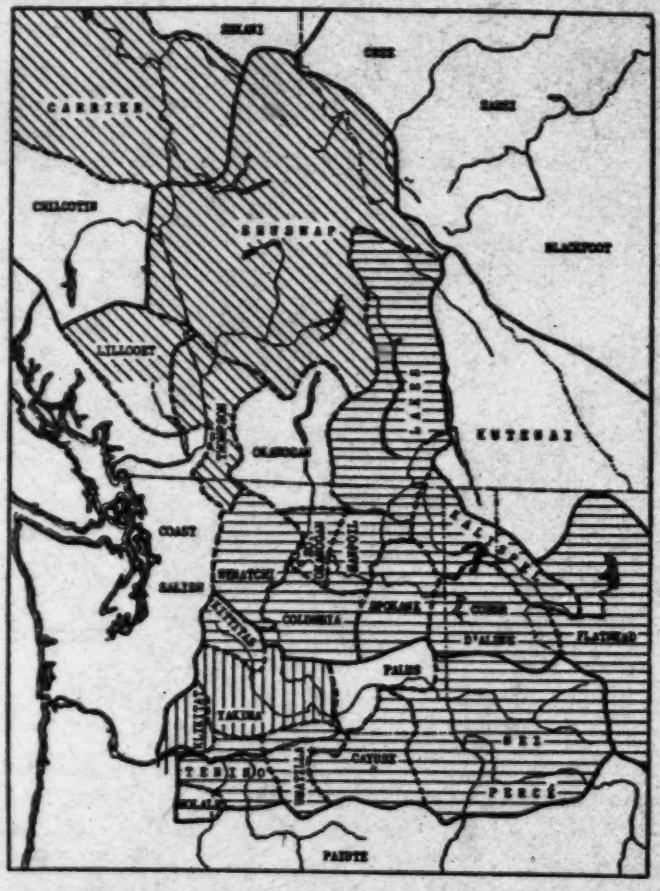

MAP. 19. Mat lodges. *Diagonal hatching:* inverted-V section, rectangular plan; *horizontal hatching:* inverted-V section, plan with parallel sides and rounded ends; *vertical hatching:* vertical walls, gable roof.

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rated from the main body of the house by a partition directly below the end of the ridge, making the room itself rectangular in plan. A door is provided in the middle of this wall and another in the rounded outside wall directly opposite. Two compartments are thus formed, one on

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501 Bark canoes are utilized in all parts of the Canadian Plateau, and by the Colville, Spokane, Kalispel, Coeur d'Alêne, and western Flathead. Two highly distinctive types are found, with a third intermediate

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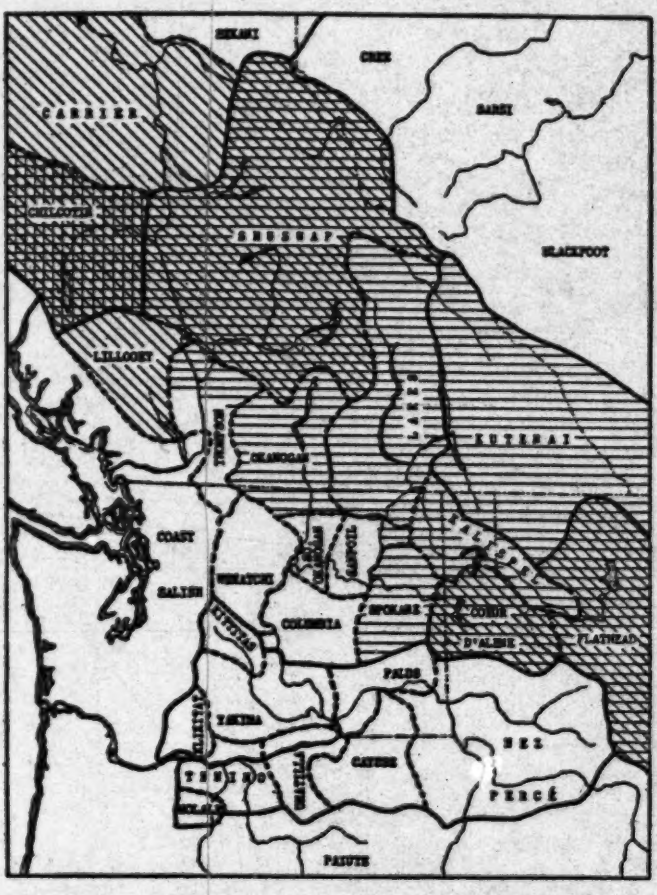

MAP 20. Bark canoes. *Diagonal hatching:* undercut bow and stern; *horizontal hatching:* sturgeon-nose type; *vertical hatching:* vertical bow and stern.

501 form. One is the sturgeon-nose type; another has undercut bow and stern; in the third form the bow and stern are vertical.

The sturgeon-nose canoe is pointed under the water line at both bow and stern. The existence of this type among the Kutenai was pointed out years ago by Mason, at which time he called attention to

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its main channel. These dry canyons, particularly characteristic of the northern part of the province, are known as coulees. The greatest of these, the Grand Coulee, was cut by the river when the Okanogan glacier filled the upper Columbia valley at the "Big Bend". In the southern half, beyond the extent of the glaciers, the lava plateau has been eroded gradually by such rivers as the Deschutes, John Day, Umatilla, and Yakima, leaving gently rounded hills of considerable altitude above the val-

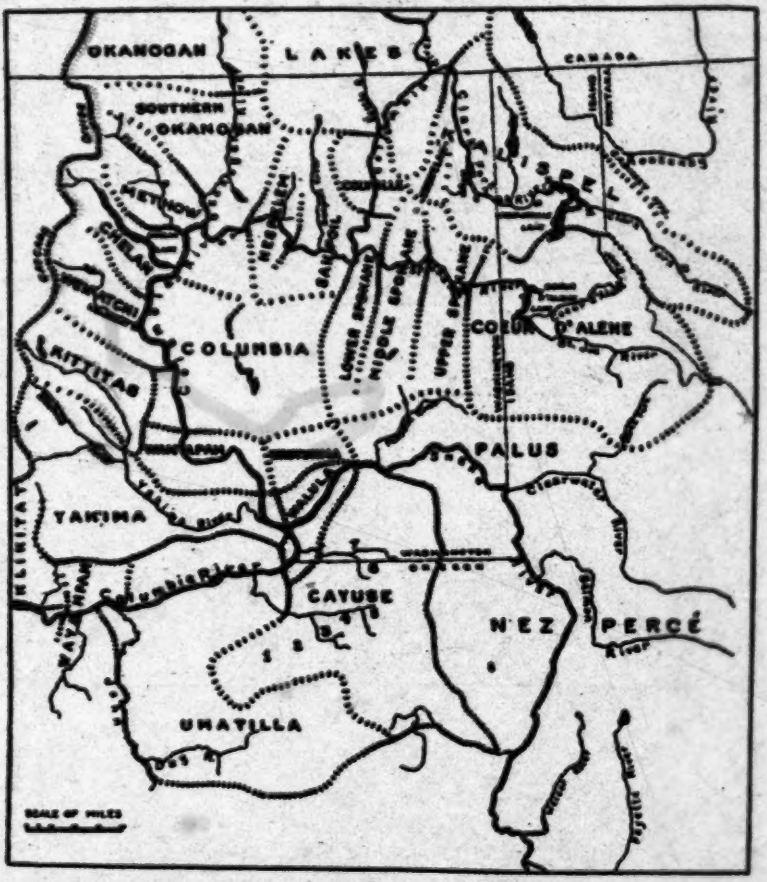

Figure 1. Native territorial distribution in the northern Plateau about 1850. (The numbers, indicating native villages and bands, are supplementary to the detailed maps following. See text.)

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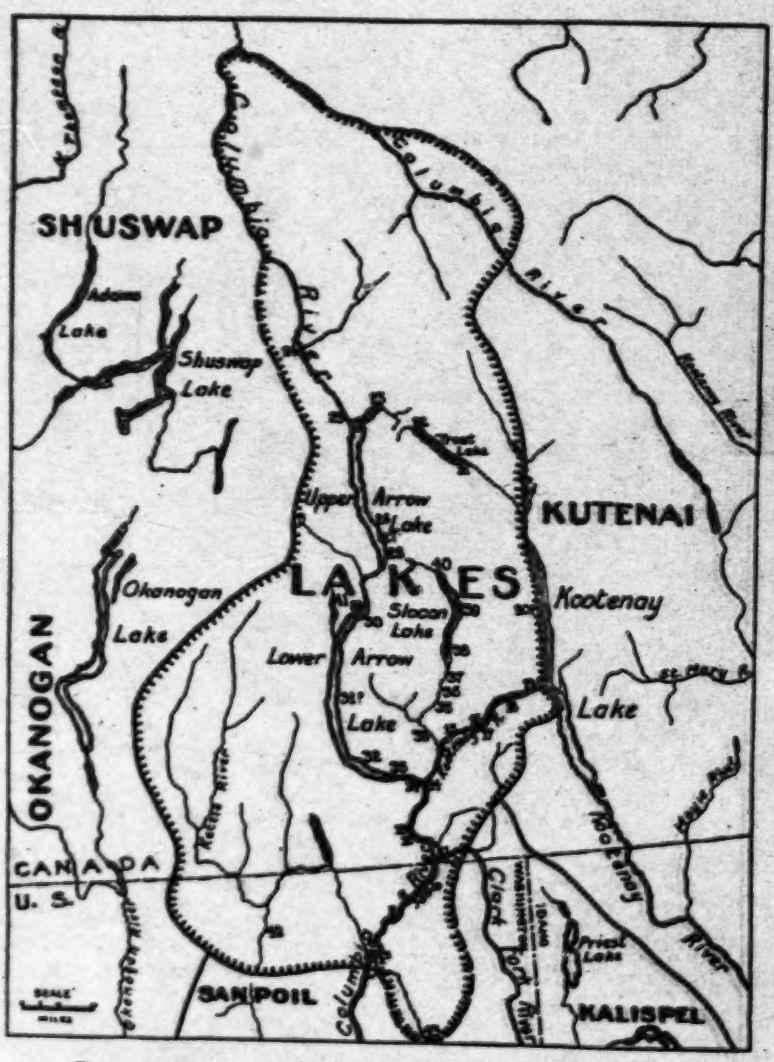

Figure 2. Lakes territory and villages. See text for village names.

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we use words of purely English derivation such as Colville and Columbia; or we apply native terms for linguistic units to ethnic groups, as in the case of Spokane. Yet nameless, these social groupings were far from unimportant. Bonds of common habitat, common interest, like customs, like values, one religion and one language are not to be passed over lightly. The feeling of unity that exists among speakers of a common dialect often is especially striking. This is particularly true where the area covered by a dialect is contiguous and relatively small, as with the Klikitat and Kittitas. These two ethnic units are identical

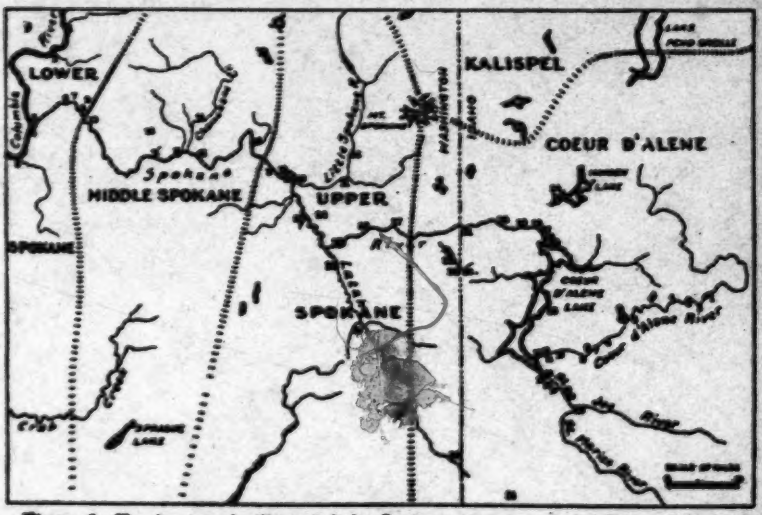

Figure 3. Territory and villages of the Spokane groups and the Coeur d'Alene. See text for village names.

in extent with two Sahaptin dialects, and are designated in native terms by the dialect names.[21] Examination of many text occurrences of these names has revealed the illuminating fact, according to Dr. Melville Jacobs, that they carry a further connotation perhaps best expressed as "our people."[22]

Further, intermarriage among members of friendly villages not far separated was exceedingly common, resulting in

[21] See section VII.
[22] Personal conversation.

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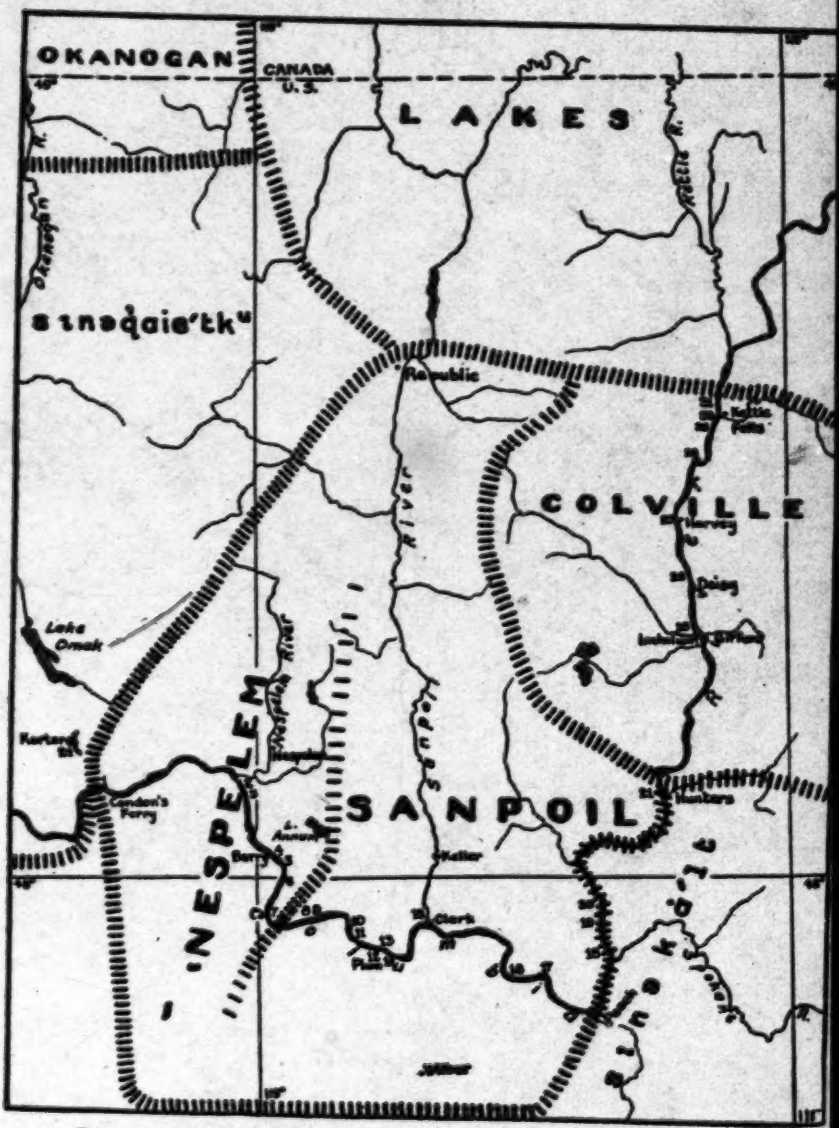

Figure 4. Sanpoil, Nespelem and Colville territories and villages. Figures refer to village names in text.

The precision with which a boundary line is indicated must not be taken as an index of concordance or culture, but merely as a reflection of ethnic unity. Thus the hunting territory of one group might be quite open to use by another even though the bounds be highly specific. This freedom of use was the rule among many of the Salish groups. But among the Yakima, for example, outsiders were required to obtain formal permis-

Figure 5. Territories of the Middle Columbia Salish and the Northwestern Sahaptin. For village names see text.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

131* River, where lines of demarcation were usually very definite, several vil-
173 lages were jointly occupied by Umatilla and Tenino.[3]

On the east the Umatilla-Cayuse division was equally vague except on the lower Umatilla River and near Ukiah. Both banks of the Umatilla River

131*
173
102

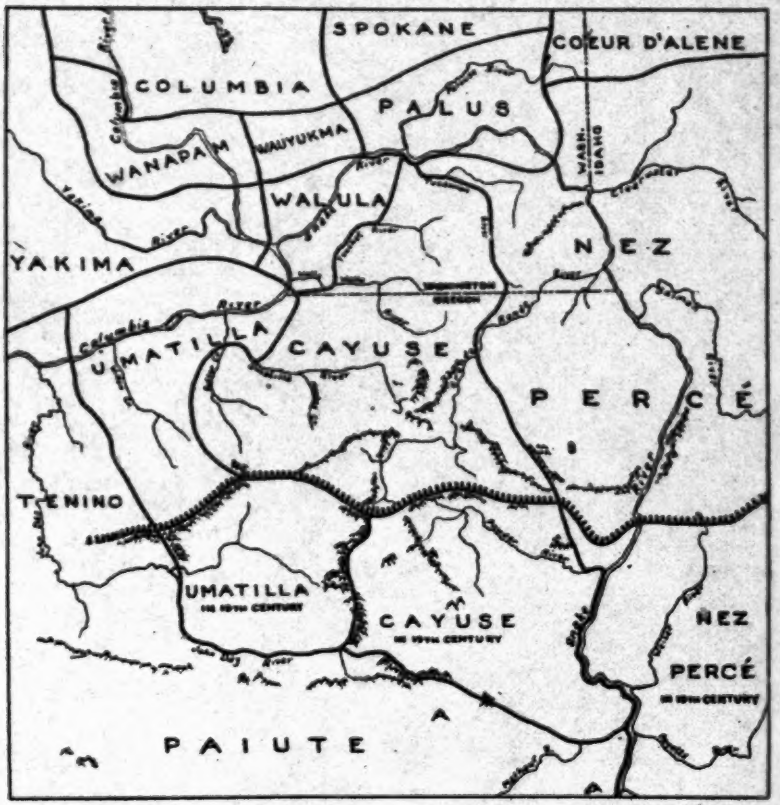

FIG. 1. Tribal distribution in northeastern Oregon and adjacent regions, by Ray. The serrated line represents the northern boundary of Shoshonean peoples in the 18th century and earlier.

131* below the mouth of Butter Creek, and the north side for several miles
173 above, belonged to the Umatilla; but all of Butter Creek was held by the Cayuse. In the gathering grounds to the south the Umatilla occupied the

[3] In the present map this area is divided between the two.

4: Ray et al (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

131x 173 361 and John Day Rivers. They were divided into four sub-tribes or rather pairs of villages—one, with rather flimsy and temporary buildings, located on the river and used during the fishing season in the warmer months; the other, with substantial permanent dwellings, located several miles distant, usually away from the river, at a spot which provided water, fuel, and

131x 102 173

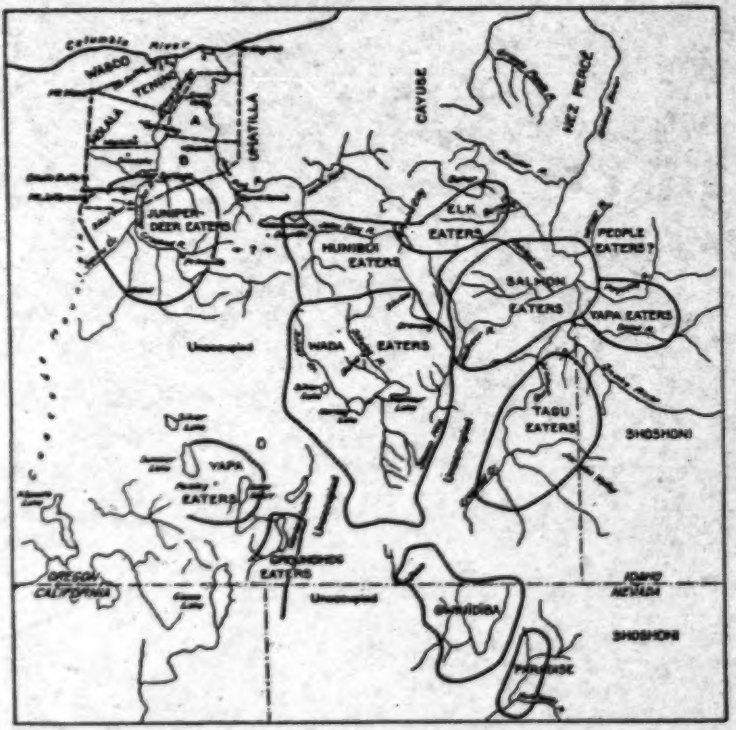

FIG. 2. Territory of the Tenino, Molala, and Oregon Paiute. Tenino-Molala territory (broken lines) by Murdock. A, disputed territory of Paiute, used by John Day Tenino for hunting; B, originally Paiute territory, from which the Paiute were displaced by Tenino. (Numbers near the Columbia indicate native sites mentioned in the text.) Northern Paiute territory (solid lines) by Blyth.

131x 173 361 shelter from the winds during the colder half of the year. The four subdivisions, originally independent though always friendly, were:

1. The Tenino proper, who during the summer occupied the village of